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SUBJECT: INDO-JAPANESE BILATERAL TALKS

SUMMARY: THE ELEVENTH ANNUAL INDO-JAPANESE BILATERAL TALKS IN NEW DELHI DECEMBER 6 AND 7 APPARENTLY WERE CONFINED TO RESTATEMENTS OF WELL-KNOWN POSITIONS ON INTERNATIONAL AND BILATERAL ISSUES. DURING GENERAL CONVERSATION WITH POLCOUNSELOR DECEMBER 9, A. K. DAMODARAN, JOINT SECRETARY FOR POLICY PLANNING, DESCRIBED THESE ANNUAL TOURS D'HORIZON WITH JAPAN AS A "WASTE OF TIME. JAPANESE FIRST SECRETARY TOLD EMBOFF THE SAME DAY THAT INDIANS HAD NOTHING SURPRISING TO SAY; HE COMPARED THE INDIAN REVIEW OF ITS FOREIGN POLICY TO WHAT ONE WOULD FIND IN A "PRESS RELEASE". END SUMMARY.

1. IN HIS REVIEW OF THE TALKS, OSHIMA SAID THAT M.A. VELLODI, MEA SECRETARY (EAST) WHO LED THE GOI DELEGATION, PRESENTED WELL-KNOWN INDIAN POSITIONS ON MOST ISSUES, IN A MANNER MARKEDLY SIMILAR TO INDIAN FONMIN CHAVAN'S UNGA SPEECH. REGARDING SOUTHERN AFRICA, OSHIMA SAID, THE INDIANS DID PRAISE THE BRITISH FOR THEIR EFFORTS AT GENEVA AND EXPRESSED THE FEAR THT IF THE TALKS FAILED, THE RHODESIAN NATIONALIST FORCS WOULD FRAGMENT. IN DISCUSSING THE NON-ALIGNED MOVEMENT, VELLODI SAID THAT THE INDIANS HAD TRIED TO BE A MODERATING FORCE AT COLOMBO AND POINTED TO THE GOI RESERVATION ON THE KOREAN QUESTION AS AN EXAMPLE. VELLODI SAID THAT WHILE INDIA DID NOT WANT TO TAKE CREDIT FOR THE DPRK'S

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WITHDRAWAL OF ITS UN RESOLUTION, HE HAD NO DOUBT THAT WHAT HAPPENED

AT COLOMBO HAD INFLUENCED THE NORTH KOREANS. VELLODI EMPHASIZED THAT INDIA FOUND THE UN DEBATES ON KOREA IN RECENT YEARS FUTILE EXERCISES AND ON PRINCIPLE CONSIDERED THE QUESTION TO BE A BILATERAL ONE. AS FOR THE INDIAN OCEAN, VELLODI MADE THE POINT THAT ALTHOUGH INDIA HAS BEEN ACCUSED OF FAVORING ONE GREAT POWER OVER THE OTHER, THE INDIAN POSITION WAS EXPRESSED IN THE COLOMBO RESOLUTION WHICH IN ADDITION TO THE MENTION OF DIEGO GARCIA, SPECIFICALLY REFERRED TO THE ACTIVITIES OF THE GREAT POW-

ERS, IN THE PLURAL. THE JAPANESE, OSHIMA SAID, RESPONDED THAT THEY ACCEPTED DIEGO GARCIA IN ORDER TO MAINTAIN A BALANCE IN THE AREA. ON NUCLEAR MATTERS, THE INDIANS REPEATED THEIR POSITION ON THE NPT. VELLODI ALSO EXPRESSED SURPRISE AND DISAPPOINTMENT, IN LIGHT OF WHAT HE DESCRIBED AS INDIA'S REASONABLE STAND, AT THE CANADIAN'S "UNILATERAL" ABROGATION OF THE AGREEMENT TO PROVIDE HEAVY WATER FOR THE RAPP REACTORS.

3. ON INDIA'S RELATIONS WITH THE GREAT POWERS, VELLODI SAID THAT RELATIONS WITH THE USSR WERE GOOD, AS DEMONSTRATED BY MRS. GANDHI'S VISIT TO MOSCOW. HE EXPRESSED THE HOPE THAT INDO-US RELATIONS WOULD IMPROVE. VELLODI SAW NO REASON TO HOPE THAT THERE WOULD BE A DRASTIC CHANGE IN CHINESE FOREIGN POLICY UNDER HUA OR TO ANTICIPATE A CHANGE IN SINO-SOVIET RELATIONS. IN ANSWER TO AN INDIAN REQUEST FOR THE JAPANESE VIEW OF EVENTS IN CHINA, DEPUTY FOREIGN MINISTER ARITA, WHO HEADED GOJ DELEGATION, GAVE HIS PERSONAL VIEW THAT UA WAS ATTEMPTING TO BALANCE AMONG RADICAL, MODERATE AND ARMY FORCES AND THAT ALTHOUGH HE WAS CARRYING OUT POLICIES IN THE NAME OF MAO, THEY WERE REALLY THOSE OF CHOU EN'LAI. IN HIS REMARKS, OSHIMA SAID, VELLODI MADE NO REFERENCE TO THE CHANGE IN THE US ADMINISTRATION OR TO GOI EXPECTATIONS OF ITS RELATIONS WITH THE CHINESE.

4. IN DISCUSSING THE SUBCONTINENT, VELLODI REFERRED ONLY GENERALLY TO RELATIONS WITH PAKISTAN AND REPEATED THE INDIAN VIEW THAT BANGLADESH HAD TRIED TO INTERNATIONALIZE THE FARAKKA ISSUE IN ORDER TO DISTRACT ITS PEOPLE FROM INTERNAL PROBLEMS. AT ONE POINT IN THE TALKS, OSHIMA SAID, ARITA COMMENTED THAT IN ITS DEALINGS IN THE SUBCONTINENT, THE JAPANESE HOPED THAT INDIA TOOK INTO CONSIDERATION THE CONCERNS OF ITS SMALLER NEIGHBORS. VELLODI TOOK THIS AS A REFERENCE TO THE FARAKKA DISPUTE AND WAS EMPHATIC IN CONFIDENTIAL

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EXPLAINING THAT INDIA HAD A REAL NEED OF GANGES WATERS FOR THE CALCUTTA PORT. INDIA, HE SAID, WAS NOT TRYING TO HARM BANGLADESH. ON ASIAN RELATIONS, THE INDIANS WELCOMED ASEAN'S INITIATIVES TO IMPROVE RELATIONS WITH INDO-CHINA.

5. TO INITIATE THAT PORTION OF THE TALKS DEVOTED TO BILATERAL MATTERS, THE INDIAN PAINTED A POSITIVE PICTURE OF THE INDIAN ECONOMY SINCE THE EMERGENCY BUT SAID THAT BECAUSE OF THE LIMITED

AMOUNT OF DOMESTIC SAVINGS INDIA CONTINUED TO NEED FOREIGN ASSISTANCE. HOWEVER, SUCH ASSISTANCE WOULD HAVE TO BE UNDER INDIAN CONTROL. ON TRADE THE INDIANS HOPED THAT JAPAN COULD IMPORT MORE INDIAN PRODUCTS OF ADDED VALUE SUCH AS SEMI-PROCESSED RATHER THAN JUST RAW MATERIALS. VELLODI ALSO EXPRESSED THE HOPE OF POSSIBLE COOPERATION IN SPACE AND, TO THE SURPRISE OF THE JAPANESE, NUCLEAR DEVELOPMENT. OSHIMA COMMENTED THAT ECONOMIC RELATIONS HAD BEEN DISCUSSED IN FAR MORE DEPTH IN NOVEMBER AT THE INDIAN-JAPANESE BUSINESS COOPERATION COMMITTEE MEETING IN MADRAS.

6. COMMENT: BEFORE DISCUSSING THE TALKS WITH EMBOFF, OSHIMA TOOK GREAT CARE TO EXPLAIN THAT THE JAPANESE VALUED THESE BILATERAL DISCUSSIONS FOR THEIR OWN SAKE AND NOT FOR WHAT MIGHT BE GAINED SUBSTANTIVELY. HE ALSO POINTED OUT THAT BECAUSE OF THE RESPECTIVE RELATIONS OF BOTH INDIA AND JAPAN WITH THE GREAT POWERS, THEY NECESSARILY TREATED SENSITIVE ISSUES CIRCUMSPECTLY. THAT SAID, OSHIMA NEVERTHELESS CONVEYED IMPRESSION THAT JAPANESE WERE DISAPPOINTED IN SUPERFICIALITY OF THIS YEAR'S DISCUSSION. THE JAPANESE WERE PREPARED, HE SAID, TO DISCUSS ISSUES IN SOMEWHAT MORE DEPTH BUT BECAUSE THE TALKS THIS TIME WERE IN DELHI AND THE INDIANS SET THE TONE, THE JAPANESE RESPONDED IN KIND

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